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The EXAMINER.

From Friday January 1, to Monday January 4, 1713.

——*Fratrum quoq; gratia rara eſt.* Ovid.

THAT I may ſometimes Surprize, as well as Divert and Inſtruct my Readers, I think fit to give Notice, that my *preſent Paper* ſhall be written againſt the *Tories*; in which I intend to ſhew them no manner of Favour, but to Treat them with all the Acrimony and Reſentment that they deſerve. They, who would Chaſtiſe others with Judgment, ought firſt to do them Juſtice, by a Recital and due Acknowledgment of their Virtues, before they proceed to the harſher Task of Enquiring into and Cenſuring their Faults. And therefore I am obliged to Premiſe, that I have no Quarrel to the Principles of the *Tories*: Their Cauſe is certainly a good One; and their very Enemies are ſo far on their Side, as not to be able to find fault with it, without firſt Belying and Miſrepreſenting it, by Calumnies and Slanders that are entirely Falſe and Groundleſs. As *Tories* they dare not argue with them, or bring their own Practices and Principles in Competition with an Adverſary of ſuch Honour and Virtue: But they are forc'd to call them *Papiſts*, *Slaves*, *Bigots*, or by ſome other ſuch odious Names, and then attack them, not in their real Character, but under a Viſar and Diſguiſe, a Dog-Skin or a Bear-Skin, which is of their own making up and putting on. This is juſt as fair a way of treating People, as if I ſhould call the *Whigs Jews*, *Turks*, or *Savages*, and then very gravely go to Work, and perſuade them to renounce their *Talmud* or *Alcoran*, and leave off Eating of Men, and running Naked up and down the Woods, to Hunt one another. But however the *Tories* may value themſelves upon the Purity of their Profeſſion, ſtill I inſiſt, that there are many and great Corruptions among them; and theſe I am at preſent to Examine. Not that my Cenſures reach to the whole Body of the *Tories*, but only to a few particular Men; ſome of whom are daily ſpreading the Infection further, and, in general, their Miſconduct gives Cauſe of Triumph to the common Enemy, revives the Hopes of *Faction*, brings a Scandal upon the honeſt Majority, and may in time make a Rent and Diviſion among Friends, which is the moſt approv'd and only ſure way of Ruining the beſt Cauſe in the World; and when the Breach is wide enough, will infallibly let in a moſt implacable Foe upon us, to Over-run and Devour us. The Miſbehaviour of theſe unhappy deluded Men conſiſts chiefly in their Conduct with reſpect to the *Preſent Miniſtry*; who, becauſe they aim at no other Eſtabliſhment of their Power than the Favour of *Her Majeſty*, and the Love and Affection of their *Fellow-Subjects*, are therefore more careful to maintain a Character with all Mankind, than others, whoſe Uſurpations and Oppreſſions were no otherwiſe to be defended, than by frequent Repetitions of the ſame Crimes. Like Rebels or Invaders, who firſt Encroach upon Lands which are none of their own, and then throw them up for Bulworks and Fortifications: Juſt ſo their Ill-gotten Power and Wealth were employ'd in juſtifying the Methods of acquiring both. But however tempting the Examples of ſome glorious Traytors and ſucceſsful Ill-men may be, of which there have been too many in our Age and Nation, yet the preſent Sett of Great Men, who were born to put an End to a Courſe of fortunate Wickedneſs, and whoſe Actions have procured them the Reverſe of that odious Character, entertain too Refined a Notion of Power, to make it a Weight and Burden to all that are under them. They conſider themſelves rather as *Guardians*, *Deliverers*, *Benefactors*, and *Tutelary Beings*, than as *Lords* and *Governors*; and the more they look on the publick Buſineſs as a Toil, the more ready, one would think, ſhould thoſe beneath them be, to make it eaſy and pleaſant to them. It is rank Spite and Ingratitude to Complain and Murmur without Cauſe, only to ſhew that the Lenity of our Superiors permits Men to do it freely. I know the general Accuſation is, that the *Miniſtry* are tardy and ſlow, that they Deliberate too much, take leiſurely Steps, and uſe more Delay and Procraſtination than is ſafe and needful, eſpecially where they have ſo vigorous and enterprizing an Enemy to deal with. We look altogether through the wrong End of the *Perſpective*, and ſee only what is before us, which perhaps may appear at too great a diſtance; without reflecting on paſt Objects, and the Wonders that are behind, which can never be magnify'd to their juſt Proportion. *Rome* was not built, nor can *Whiggiſm* be pulled down, in a Day. *Hercules* himſelf muſt have been tired, had the Labours of his Life been reduc'd to a narrower Compaſs of Years; and the Hero been oblig'd to Tame a *Monſter* a *Week*. It is much eaſier to Ruin, than Repair; and the *Whigs* are not ſuſpected for want of Courage, Vigour, and Activity: Why then ſhould we expect, that our Happineſs ſhould be perfected in *Three Years*, when they were not able to finiſh our Deſtruction and Overthrow in *Three and Twenty*? It is enough, that the greateſt Difficulties are remov'd, and that the publick Affairs go forward. Both the *Sword* and *Buckler* of *Great Britain* have been employ'd in reducing a turbulent implacable *Faction*, whoſe Forces are many and formidable; and, as *Beſſus* ſays in the *Play*, *We muſt be plain with the Whigs; we cannot fight above three Combats a Day.* But waving all general Grievances, I ſhall now mention a few Particulars, in which I think ſome of the *Tories* misbehave themſelves towards the *Preſent Miniſtry*; and however they may ſtill boaſt of the Soundneſs of their *Principles*, it will appear, that at leaſt their *Paſſions* ought to be Regulated.

There are ſome *Tories*, who ſet up againſt their own Friends rather than be out of Play, and finding that the *Whigs* were capable of Voting on either Side, and eſpouſing any Intereſt rather than not do Miſchief, have made uſe of them for Scaffolding, to lift themſelves up, and gain ſome Eminence in the Government. Theſe Men, inſtead of attoning for the falſe Step they made by attempting to divide the Loyal Intereſt, imagine, that becauſe they had not the Countenance of the *Miniſtry*, therefore they came in by oppoſing them; and ſo not being look'd on as the beſt Friends, think they are oblig'd to act as declar'd Enemies: And becauſe the *Whigs* were for them out of *Spite*, they would refine upon the Compliment, and be for them out of *Principle*. Such weak Creatures need not be told, that inſtead of being Conſiderable in either Party, they are the Jeſt of Both; and that all Endeavours to Reclaim them proceed from entire Love and Good-will, ſince no Body believes, that they can ever be in a way either to be *Fear'd* or *Wanted*.

There are other *Tories*, who coming into the Places of the *Whigs*, and being employ'd in ſome Branch of the Revenue, or other Office, whoſe ſuppos'd Income depends

depends very much upon certain Perquiſites and Precedents of Corruption, which their Predeceſſors introduc'd, are apt to think themſelves ill-us'd, and not ſo well requited by their Friends, as the *Whigs* were, whenever the *Miniſtry* go about to enquire into, to Detect and Puniſh theſe Abuſes, and to reſtrain them in any underhand Trade with the *Publick Monies*. But theſe Wretches cannot ſhew their Reſentment and Diſguſt to the *Miniſtry*, without proclaiming their ſtrict Honour and Juſtice at the ſame time. They ought to know, that the bare Name of *Tory* is no ſhelter for the common Practices of the *Whigs*; that ſo far as they are guilty of this Charge, they have Apoſtatiz'd already, and that it is upon many Accounts unſafe to humour them; ſince true Avarice ſeldom puſhes a Pique to the Loſs of a certain Gain in purſuit of an Uncertain, and they can never be truly Valuable, whom any Faction can win over at a reaſonable Rate, and whenever it is worth their while to have Scruples, may ſo eaſily finiſh their Converſion.

It may be one may find a *Third Sort* of *Tories*, who are not pleas'd with the Rank and Station they bear in the Government: Whoſe *Bill of Services* runs high, eſpecially when it is of their own Drawing. They would fain Juſtle ſome powerful Rival, would Noſe ſome great Man above them, or execute a Grudge upon ſome old Enemy, now plac'd beneath them. They are afraid their Judgment is Undervalu'd, their Schemes thrown by with Neglect: They are not thought Worthy: They are not admitted into as much of the Secret as falls to their Share; and therefore they flounce about, and grow uneaſy; reſolving to make a Merit of the Power to do Miſchief, and ſince they cannot get higher themſelves, to put all about them in Confuſion. Such *Hotſpurs* ſhould be told, that no Man is the proper Judge of his own Pretenſions; that *Order*, *Diſcipline*, and *keeping of Ranks*, are as neceſſary in a *State*, as an *Army*; and that he, who will either chuſe his own *Poſt* or *Deſert*, Merits ſomewhat a ſeverer Treatment than *Caſhiering*; that Envy, Malice, and unlimited Ambition, whatever Lengths they may run in a calm, ſerene World, are arrant Folly and Madneſs, amidſt the Confuſion and Struggle of *Parties*, and that it becomes every one to be better guarded, where there is an inveterate daring Enemy ready to break in at every weak Side, and carry off the Prize; to the Mortification of thoſe unpitty'd Wretches, who could not divide it without Quarreling.

Other *Tories* there are, who cannot be content to enjoy the Bleſſings of the preſent Adminiſtration, in common with the reſt of their Fellow Subjects; to have their *Liberty* reſtor'd, their *Property* diſencumber'd, and their *Religion* preſerv'd and ſecur'd, unleſs the Government will be pleas'd to pay for their Honeſty and Abilities, by beſtowing ſome Place, as a particular Mark of Favour, upon them. They think good Subjects are ſo Scarce and Valuable, that all of them ought to belong to the *Court*; and that ſince the *Tories* are uppermoſt, every one of their Friends has a Right to be admitted upon the *Civil Liſt*; and perhaps they have been oblig'd with a good-natur'd Expreſſion from ſome *Lord*, which they are ready to Interpret into a *direct Promiſe*. Theſe Men are allow'd to go on *Serving*, and to ſwell their Merit as big as they can; but they are never to make a *Party-Quarrel* of it, or to plead it in Excuſe for Murmuring and Diſſention: For then all the Publick Spirit goes from them in a Moment, and is ſucceeded by *Faction*, *Sedition*, *Rebellion*, and a whole Train of *Furies*.

There may be ſome few among the *Tories*, who, tho' well enough provided for themſelves, are perpetually clamouring for their Friends, and uneaſy becauſe they are not taken care of. They try their own Weight and Power this way, and then ſay; they have no Intereſt; they cannot make ſuch or ſuch a ſmall Officer. Theſe Men think their private Obligations ſhould be made a Charge upon the Publick, and would ſhift off their own *Duns* to the *Miniſtry*. Perhaps too there may be more Deſign and Ambition in this ſort of Management, than is uſually ſuſpected: They want to enlarge their Dependencies, and to Stock the State with vaſt Quantities of their *Creatures*, that they may grow formidable. But a Diſappointment in this Caſe is no real Cauſe of Complaint: For if as the *Tories* increaſe, a *Friend*, and a *Friend's Friend*, and ſo on *in infinitum*, muſt be provided for, *Doomſday-Book* and the *Civil Liſt* ſhould in a little time be made both of a Size.

Laſtly, 'tis poſſible, there may be *Tories*, who have juſt Cauſe of Complaint, who have really been ill-us'd, and whoſe Caſe is a hard One. Theſe Men are allow'd to plead it ſtrenuouſly; ſo they do it with Decency, and in the proper Place. But to Clamour in Companies, to Revile or Undervalue their Governors, to make their particular Concern an Inſtance of general Miſconduct in the *Miniſtry*, and thereupon to fix an ill Opinion upon others to their Diſavour: Theſe are *Meaſures* of *Reſiſtance*, which, in private Caſes, even Mr. *Hoa—y* does not think Juſtifiable. Such Behaviour Cancels all former Merit; and the weak Creature, who is betray'd into it, inſtead of mending his Fortunes, can meet with no Diſaſter, which he will not deſerve.

In general, whoever among the *Tories*, at this time of Day eſpecially, endeavours at any thing that may Divide his own Party, or create Miſunderſtandings between them, takes the ſhorteſt, the ſureſt, and the only way to Ruin them. The *Whigs* in a Body, tho' every one of them were a *Guiſcard*, are not half ſo Formidable. *Unity* and *Concord* muſt perfect the good Work; and by theſe Arts the *Tories* will for ever flouriſh, and be immoveable. *Unity* and *Self-Preſervation* are the ſame thing to them; and ſo far as this Virtue goes, I would have every *Tory* a downright *Dutchman*. Whilſt we reverence the *Miniſtry*, as our Superiors, we ought to conſider them as Men ſtill. They have our Paſſions, and we have not their Abilities. There may be many things, which they could not foreſee; many things, which they cannot help; many things, of which we know not the Tendency; many things, which we do not throughly underſtand for want of a perfect Account; and many things, of which we know not where to lay the Blame. It is enough that the Cauſe of the *Tories* proſpers, and to thoſe, who, out of a private Pique, the love of Change, or for the ſake of Novelty, would hazard the Letting in of our *Old Maſters*, I ſhall only apply the *following Advertiſement*, for their Entertainment and Diverſion.

At the D—— of M——h's *Head is to be ſeen,*

1. *THE noble majeſtick Lyon, ſo wonderfully tame, that you may let him take any thing out of your Pocket.* 2. *The ſtately* Ruſſian Bear, *that accoſts all Spectators with the utmoſt Addreſs and Civility.* 3. *The noble* Panther, *moſt curiouſly ſpotted; the ſame that was ſhewn in* Ireland. 4. *The incomparable* Vultur *from the Coaſts of* Barbary; *with ſeveral other ſtrange and wonderful Birds and Beaſts; being the nobleſt Collection that ever came over.* N.B. If Quality or others think fit to have them brought home to their Houſes, they may treat with the *Keepers.*

VIVAT REGINA.

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